1:Opler E-5 (1931-1937)1941
(ca. 1870) NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
Chiricahua

852 There is a ceremony held over a child when it just begins to walk. . . . . Men and women who know how may carry on this ceremony for the child. They get [787] the power through Child of the Water [the culture hero].[1] It is done to keep the [776] child healthy and strong, and because Child of the Water, when he started to walk, had a ceremony like this one.

[574] The family . . . . has to have a lot of meat and fruit ready. A feast is announced just like the one held at the girl's puberty rite. Many are invited. When a boy goes through this ceremony, they call him Child of the Water. When a [776] girl goes through it, they call her White Painted Woman [the mother of the culture hero]. Every child should go through it.

When my son first began to walk, he had a good ceremony. T. and Old Man D. carried it out. They had power from Child of the Water.

[292] D. directed my wife in the making of the buckskin outfit. It has to be made [531] from the skin of a black-tailed buck for a boy. In D.'s ceremony just a shirt and moccasins are made for the boy. For a girl the outfit has to be made from the skin of a black-tailed doe. Crescents and stars and crosses were the designs. The same designs are used on the girl's clothes when the ceremony is for a girl.

[821] They wait for the new or the full moon before beginning this ceremony. This time they waited for the new moon. They start just as early as they can. [431] Early in the morning many came to the place where I lived. We had plenty there for them to eat. We had presents for everyone, too—fruit and tobacco and other things. J. B. helped me with this because he wanted the ceremony held. He is a relative on my wife's side. My father-in-law brought some of these things too, and his sisters helped also. My wife's sisters helped with the cooking.

[526] They had a big hoop-and-pole game[2] going there too. P. and others who knew the ceremony well were off playing this game while they waited for the feast that was to follow.

[788] After some prayers T. marked everyone with pollen. He put some on the head and above the nose of both men and women, the way they do at the girl's puberty rite. This was done just before sunup. At sunrise he took the boy and lifted him toward the east, raising him four times. He did the same to the south and the west and the north. Then he set him down.

852 With pollen he made footprints on a piece of white buckskin just as White
788 Painted Women made them in the story of the killing of the monsters. We took
801 the boy. I was holding him on one side, and T. was on the other. We led him
[773] through these footprints. T. said a prayer about Child of the Water and his first step just as the boy took the first step. He said another prayer for the second step and went on until four prayers and four steps were over. Then the boy took four steps by himself. As he did so, they said, "May he have good fortune." Now we turned the boy clockwise and brought him back, and he walked the four steps in the same way again. Four times we walked him like this. Then we

[1] Actually the rite can be obtained through other sources as well.

[2] For a description of the game see pp. 448–50.

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These preparations tax the resources of any one family. Therefore, because of the pleasurable public aspects of the rite, individuals outside the relationship group may lend aid, and its approach is a signal for exceptional generosity in many matters. 881 431 476

The man who's with you [on the hunt] is ruling you. He tells you what he wants and takes it. But many times it happens this way: if you were out with a thoughtful man and you had a daughter who was going to have a feast next summer, this man you're hunting with might say, "Your daughter is going to have a feast, and you haven't enough buckskin. You keep all the hides." He would do that because maybe that might be your last chance to get buckskin.

Buckskin is needed for the ornamented dress which the girl will wear during the rite. At least five skins are required: two for the upper garment, two for the skirt, and one for the high moccasins. This clothing follows the ordinary dress in cut, but only choice materials are used, and the garments are decorated with special designs. The girl's mother, her grandmother, or some other close female relative may work on this clothing; but, if no one in the family has the requisite skill, an outsider may be hired. The maker proceeds carefully and according to prescribed rules. Doeskins or buckskins may be used, but the tail suspended from the jacket must be that of a black-tailed doe. For the upper garment the skin side faces outward; for the skirt the flesh side is out. 881 292 294 [602]

The garments are decorated with designs symbolic of the forces which will be supplicated on behalf of the girl. The morning star and the crescent moon may be represented, as may a stepped design symbolizing the dwelling. Circles indicate the sun, and fringes streaming from their centers, the sunbeams. Connected arcs stand for the rainbow. Before the dress is finished all parts have to be colored yellow, the hue of pollen. Yellow ocher may be rubbed on, or the buckskin may be dyed in a liquid prepared from algerita roots. [532] [386]

The dress must be blessed as well as beautifully finished: [789] [533]

While it is being made they have someone sing for it. J. [a man] used to do it. But this singer is usually an old woman. She sometimes sings over it during two months. The family has to give her a great deal for these services. Sometimes the woman who makes it ties amulets on and sings for every string.

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(ca. 1870) NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
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[facing P. 97]

PLATE IV

881
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United States National Museum

GIRL DRESSED FOR PUBERTY RITE

1:Opler E-5 (1931-1937)1941
(ca. 1870) NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
Chiricahua

not get a man well, I know that the man is mistaken about his trouble. If I get a person well, I usually get other payment besides the ceremonial gifts. For the ceremonial gifts I must receive a horse, a piece of turquoise with an eagle feather stuck through a hole in it, and an unblemished buckskin, these four things. They must be given before the ceremony starts. I have the feathers on my hat and the turquoise I wear through the ceremony.

The ceremony can take place in the day or the night, but it has to be continued for four days or four nights. If a person got struck or frightened by lightning in the afternoon, the ceremony would begin in the afternoon. I try to begin it at about the same time of day or night that the experience with lightning occurred.

First of all in my ceremony I smoke. I blow the smoke to the four directions, calling each by its color name. Then I call on Thunder and say, "Before you did this to him, this man's body and spirit were in a healthy condition. Now he is sick. I plead with you to breathe some of your spirit into this man, to make him over as he should be."

I have to have medicine for the sick person too. To make this medicine I take wood from a tree which has been struck by lightning, burn it, take the ashes, and put them in cool water. Scrapings from abalone shell are put with it too. With the ashes I make a lightning design (a zigzag) on the four sides of the cup. And I make the lightning design on the man's face, running it into the mouth. I pray, and while I pray I raise the cup upward four times, then toward the patient three times, and make the patient drink on the fourth.

Then I begin with the songs. This is my first song:

He in the sky who is holy,
He who is Black Thunder
Who put up the earth,
He zigzags down with life
To impart life to her body;
He in the sky who is holy,
Black Thunder, my father.

This same song is sung to the other directions; the color terms alone change. At the end of the second song I push the chest, back, and sides of the patient with my hand four times and then blow the evil influence away. While I am singing, I am asking help of my power.

After the four songs I pray again. This last part changes to suit the occasion. Then the ceremony for this one day or night is finished. This power of mine comes from Thunder. Thunder power carries you to old age.

I have a hat that goes with this ceremony. I was ordered by a dream to make the hat. I do not use the hat in the ceremony or use it at all. I was told in my dream that the hat would just be for luck in the ceremony. But the hat belongs to Lightning; it belongs to this ceremony. It is copied after the old way.

I lost this hat one time. Later I was walking with four men. We were hunting

1:Opler E-5 (1931-1937)1941
(ca. 1870) NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
Chiricahua

deer. I saw a deer and ran to head it off. When I got to the point where I thought the deer would pass, I saw one of the men waving, telling me that the deer had gone back. It was raining a little. I started to go back. I went a long way looking around. It started to rain again. I began to look again. Close by, the lightning struck. I went to the place where it had struck and found the hat. This caused me to believe in my ceremony more than ever.

There is one other function of the lightning shaman, the making of amulets of various kinds to be worn as a protection against lightning and lightning sickness.[23]

Some say Lightning talks to them. When the lightning strikes a place, these people can go to the east of a pine tree that was struck and take a piece of wood. They shape it like this [a crude resemblance to the human figure with some features poorly indicated] and put it on them. They wear it suspended by four strings. The painting is done with a blue mineral and black specular iron ore. If this is made for a person, he won't be hit by lightning, and he won't be frightened by lightning.

Plants.—Occasionally, a plant is personified and becomes a source of ritual. One plant, now much used for wounds, revealed itself in a vision experience to a man who was wounded in battle and fell on it. The plant pushed him upward four times and spoke to him, telling him to chew the root, to rub some of it on the injury, and to put the unused leaves back in the ground. The man obeyed directions, recovered, and was able to reach his home and introduce this remedy.

A plant, as well as an animal, acted as supernatural guardian for a successful raider:

This happened long ago. The enemies used to know many ways to stop you, to make your legs ache so you couldn't get away with horses. My father was down in Mexico with a band. They drove away a good herd of cattle, burros, and horses from the Yaqui.

The Yaqui came on the trail. One of the men of the Yaqui knew a ceremony and was working against the Chiricahua. The Chiricahua had seen cacti thrown on their trail, and now they knew what it was for. They got cramps, their legs hurt, and they couldn't go fast. They were in danger, for the Yaqui were catching up.

For his raiding work my father mixed Wolf and Cactus [a small variety of hedgehog cactus type] together. They asked him to sing and he did. He found

[23] Among the ethnological specimens collected by M. R. Harrington from the Chiricahua Apache at Fort Sill, Oklahoma, in 1909 were a number of lightning fetishes.

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(ca. 1870) NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
Chiricahua
[facing p. 311]

PLATE XI

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United States National Museum

Denver Art Museum

CEREMONIAL HATS FOR PROTECTION IN WAR

1:Opler E-5 (1931-1937)1941
(ca. 1870) NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
Chiricahua

411 789

happens to your gun when you try to shoot at such a fellow. Your gun jams, for instance. The one who knows this ceremony can fix it for someone else so that, when he is shot at, he will be missed.

714 789

The shield is always ceremonial and belongs to this kind of power. When you see a man with a shield, you know it was made for him by a ceremonial man in connection with a war ceremony. It's not like a bow or a sling. It's not just a weapon. Anyone couldn't have this. The shield is called "that which I hold up" in a ceremonial way. It is the same with the lance. You could only get it from a man who had the right to make it. It is not just a weapon. [411]

411 789 869

I think I'm going to learn the gun ceremony from an old man now. I got him when he was a little full and asked him if he knew anything he would show me. He said, "Yes, I know Gun." He told me it would be easy for me to learn, that it was mostly some prayers and songs. He showed me some of it right there. In these songs and prayers the parts of the gun are given certain names. The wooden stock is called the earth. The metal barrel is called the moon. The little screws that hold it together are called whirlwind. This is true of all gun ceremonies. I'm going to see him again and learn more about it.

714 789 292

The preparation of shields and designed garments to be given to the client as protective amulets receives constant mention:

In connection with the gun ceremony there were circular buckskin head coverings. These were carried but not worn often. Actually, a man wore a strip of buckskin or cloth or a handkerchief around his head in war. Just the war shaman and those to whom he gave them had the hats. Most of the time the hat was just rolled up and tied to the quiver.

The shamans of the war ceremony made hats. These went with the shields; they were made by the same men. These hats were of buckskin. Some were round and decorated all around the rim. Some were colored black and white and were designed with serrated figures, four-pointed stars, and lightning symbols. Sometimes a jacket was given to the person to wear. [531]

411 788 789 [1073]

A protective ritual formula, allegedly first executed by Child of the Water before his conflict with the giant, was described by an informant who is reputed to know the gun ceremony:

Spit on the palm of the left hand. Dip the first finger of the right hand in the saliva and make a cross with it on the left foot, thigh, forearm, and cheek. As the crosses are made, call upon the four Thunders: Black Thunder, Blue Thunder, Yellow Thunder, and White Thunder.

Then recite the following prayer, "Black flint is over your body four times. Take your black weapon to the center of the sky. Let his weapons disappear from the earth." This prayer, with only the colors changed, is repeated four times. Then rub the first finger of the right hand horizontally across the lips four times.